This daty was, upon the termination of the rebellion, promptly accepted, not only by the executive department but by the insurrectionart States them-

term, and as they meant it to be untution we are what it makes us. We lion against the government; but as a derstood by us. The Union which may doubt the wisdom of law, we may mode of punishment the measures unthey established can exist only where all the States are represented in both houses of Congress—where one State is as free as another to regulate its internal concern according to its own will—

It is not a question of individual, or end where laws of the controlling government are strictly confined to matter at patients living lightly and aggred data, which we may mode of punishment the measures under consideration are the most unreasonable that could be invented. Many of those people are perfectly innocent; many kept their fidelity to the union untainted to the last; many were incapable of any legal offense. A large portion of party predominance, but of duty—

tern at patients living lightly and aggred data, which we

That such is not the present state of the Union is a melancholy fact, and we all must acknowledge that the restoration of the States to their proper legal relations with the Federal government, and with one another, according to the terms of the original compact, would be the greatest tempore.

That such is not the present state of the Union is a melancholy fact, and believe in it, we must give to it at least the fidelity of public servants, who act under solemn obligations and complete acts of Congress confound them all together in one common doom.

NO INDISCRIMINATE VENGEANCE
Indiscriminate vengeance upon classes, and must eventuate in the comfidence of the world fin bitious, and must eventuate in the confidence of the world fin bitious of a policy which it should be the means of placing power in the hands of the unprincipled and ambit compact, would be the greatest temporal blessing which God in his just providence could shower upon this nation. It becomes our imperative duty to con-sider whether or not it is impossible to

who exercise its powers have determin-ed that it shall be disregarded and violated. If the more naked will of this

ment of peace was believed to be as nugatory, and Congress, in asking it, essence of liberty consists, and which easy and certain as it was indispense committed a political absurdity. The free government is most careful to prosonably and confidently entertained, were disappointed by legislation from which I felt constrained by my obligations to my constituents to withhold my assent. It is, therefore, a source of profound regret that in complying with the obligation imposed upon the President by the constitution to give to Congress, from time to time, informa and the constitution is the supreme wrongs being expressly forbidden, can are directed to deposit it.

The States are component parts of the Union even their unborn children. These will add largely to the weight of taxation, and the constitution is the supreme wrongs being expressly forbidden, can are directed to deposit it.

The Congress, from time to time, informa and the constitution is the supreme wrongs being expressly forbidden, can are directed to deposit it.

The Congress of the Union of the state of the Union, I am unlaw for them, as it is for all other not be constitutionally inflicted upon the real of the Union, I am unlaw for them, as it is for all other not be constitutionally inflicted upon the real of the Union of the state of the Union of ble to communicate any definite ad States. They are bound to obey and any portion of our people, no matter ustment satisfactory to the American so are we. The right of the Federal how they may have come within our copie on the questions which since the Government, which is clear and un- jurisdiction, and no matter whether questionable, to enforce the constitutive in States, Territories or tiou upon them, implies a correlative Districts. On the contrary, candor compels me limitations and execute its guarantees. o declare that all this time there is no Without the constitution we are nothnion as our fathers understood that ing, but through and under the consti- great crime those who engaged in rebelply with equal force to all poople in are all bound to perform. If we can their will, and of those who are guilty

conflict with the Constitution, I dare not permit myself to doubt that you will mmediately strike them from the stat-

judiciary Las also given the solemn tect. It denies the habeas corpus and sanction of its authority to the same trial by jury. Personal freedom, propview of the case. The Judges of the cry and life, if assailed by passion, Supreme Court have included South prejudice or rapacity of rulers, have no

> NO DESIRE TO PROTECT REBELS. I have no desire to save from the proper and just consequences of their

minor importance, is yet of great a portion of them against governments weight. On the 22d of July, 1861, to white they awad abodience, was common barbarous ages of the world, Congress declared by an almost unan-imous vote of both houses, that the but christianity and civilization have war should be conducted solely for the purpose of preserving the Union and maintaining the supremacy of the Federal constitution and laws, without imprediadice and right minded men. Pupairing the dignity, equality, and rights nitive justice in this age, especially in and if one is destroyed both must per-ish together. The destruction of the war should ping whole States of their liberties and

citizens as will give the former a clear majority at all elections in the Southern States. This, to the minds of some persons, is so important that a viola-

which war has inflicted, and to secure the benefit of the lessons it teaches. This duty was, upon the termination of the rebellion, promptly accepted, not only by the executive department but by the insurrectionart. States out of the Union, their by the insurrectionart States them to a change in the fundamental tendency to the fundamental tendency to the fundamental tendency to the fundamental tendency to the constitution to be ratified by the republican government in ten States groes have shown less capacity for to which they apply; it binds them government than any other race of the worse and the subjects them to a strange and hostile any form has ever been successful in their hands; on the contrary, where one of the Union, their to be abused than any other now devices, they have been left to their own devices, they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbaries.

PARAMOUNT DANGER TO THE COLUMTEY.

Of all danger which our nation has tendency to republican government in ten States government than any other race of the worse and worse until all order will be applied; to which they apply; it binds them government than any other race of the worse and worse and worse and worse and worse and worse and worse until all order will be applied; to which they apply; it binds them government than any other race of the worse and worse a government than any other race of people; no independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands; on the contrary, where ever they have been left to their own devices, they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism.

In the Southern States, however, In the Southern States, however, In the Gould and the sourcess of the effort now making to Africanize of the success of the effort now making to Africanize of the success of the effort now making to Africanize of the organic structure of the effort now making to Africanize of the stand on his rights and maintain them, regardless of the whole people, and an act which is not only in palpable conflict with the constitutional the executive would be compelled to stand on his rights and maintain them, regardless of the whole people, and accountable directly to them for his is not only in palpable conflict with the constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure.

Constitution of the successful in the success of the south grow up into fing the people, and an accountable directly to them for his acts. It is undoubtedly liable to abuse the constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure.

Constitution of the successful in the success of the south grow up into fing the constitution of the people, who having research the constitution of the people, and accountable directly to them for his is not only in palpable conflict with the constitution, but will certainly, if the constitution of the people, who having research the constitution of the people of the whole people, and constitution of the people of the whole people, and constitution of the people o

> I need not remind you that the exercise of the elective franchise is the highest attribute of an American citizen, and that when guided by virtue, millions of dollars per annum to main-

of a hig and sacred duty—which we are all bound to perform. If we cannot support the constitution with the cheerful alacrity of those who love and believe in it, we must give to it at least tion of the persons able to bear arms were forced into the rebellion against their will, and of those who are guilty and mentally to administer it well; for if conferred upon persons who do not justly estimate its value, and who are fitted morally and mentally to administer it well; for if conferred upon persons who do not justly estimate its value, and who are justly estimate its value, and who are indifferent as to its results, it will only their character and temper; but these

upon your attention the great danger to be apprehended from an untimely extension of the elective franchise to persisted in for a considerable time.

and if each entropy that the preserved by the control of the entropy that the preserved of the control of the c

The President's Henry 1

The President's Henry 2

The Standard Henry 2

The Standard Henry 3

The Standard Henry 3

The Standard Henry 4

The Standard Hen

Condition of bankruptcy.

We must not delude ourselves. It

be in or Ordinances of secession, adopted by a portion of their citizens, were more audities. It we admit now that they were valid and effectual for the purpose int node by their authorize, were more in the face of a positive in the purpose int node by their authorize, were more in the purpose int node by their authorize, were more in the purpose int node by their authorize, were they in the face of a positive in the purpose int node by their authorize, were from the face of a positive in the purpose int node by their authorize, were they in the face of a positive in the well and transmit it undivided and the rights of our children. The blacks of the South are calculated to their own posterity, is to the the own posterity, in the the authorize, either by express words or by clear implication. It is all their manner than the face of a positive in the same transmit it undivided and the rights of our children and the rights of our

co-ordinate department of government —in such a case the President must take the high responsibilities of his of-fice and save the life of the nation at all hazards.

THE SO-CALLED RECONSTRUCTION ACTS UN-

handed robberies of recent and past. Any serious breach of organic law persisted in for a considerable time cannot but create fears for the stability of our institutions. Habitual violation of prescribed rules which we bind ourselves to observe must demoralize people. Our only standard of civil duty being set at naught, the sheet anchor of our political morality is lost, public conscience swings from its moorings and yields to every impulse of passion and interest.

If we repudiate the constitution, we do not be expected to care much for could not be expected to care much for could not be expected to care much for country, has greatly decould not be expected to care much for considerable time cannot but create fears for the stability of the discreditable state of things to take the constitution for our guide, to walk in the path marked out by the founders of the republic, and to obey the founde extension of the elective franchise to any new class in our country, especially when a large majority of that class in wielding the power thus placed in their hands, cannot be expected correctly to comprehend the duties and responsibilities which pertain to suffrage.

For this discreditable state of things there are several causes. Some of the taxes are so laid as to present an irresistible temptation to evade payment. Great sums which officers make, will being set at naught, the sheet anchor of our political morality is lost, public many can withstand, and there can be

On this reconstruction quantition, and can be also nor the that of the measurement of the suspense growing out of it. I had the misfortene to differ for the misfortene to the spin of the constitution and like make in the part of the misfortene to the spin of the constitution of the constitution is possible and all our crois a become a mere of it. I had the misfortene to the spin of the constitution is possible to the constitution in the constitution in the spin of the constitution, and the part of the constitution is possible to the constitution in the propose to accompanie to the constitution of the constitution of the constitution is possible and entired to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible and entired to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is presented by the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The constitution is possible to the configuration. The configuration is the configuration of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The configuration is the constitution of the constitution is possible to the configuration. The configuration is the configuration of

A FAITHFUL MAGISTRATE WILL STAND ON HIS RIGHTS.

A faithful and conscientious magistrate will concede very much to honest error, and something even to perverse malice, before he will endanger the public peace, and he will not adopt forcible measures, or such as might lead to force, as long as the chances which are peaceable remain open to him or to his constituents. It is true that cases may occur in which the executive would be compelled to stand on his rights and maintain them, regardless of the end of the country, some one must be held responsible from the national treasury. They are from the national treasury. They are from the national treasury. They are thus made to occupy an invidious position which may be used to atrengthen the arguments of those who would bring into dispute the obligations of the cannot meet it by reason of restrictions placed by law upon his actions.

Unrestricted power of removal from office is a very great one to be trusted even to a magistrate chosen by the general massers. In the Southern States, however, Congress has undertaken to confer upon them the privilege of the ballot. Just released from slavery, it may be doubted whether as a class they know more than their ancestors how to arrange and direct civil society. Indeed, it is admitted that the blacks of the South are not only regardless of property, but their voting it is admitted that the blacks of property, but their voting in the effort now making to Africanize half our country. I would not put the consideration of money in competition with justice and right, but expenses in cident to reconstruction, under the system adopted by Congress, aggravate what I regard as intrinsic wrong of the measure itself. It has cost uncounted millions already, and if persisted in, the effort now making to Africanize the official and if there is no reason which will be arrange and direct civil society. Indeed, it is admitted that the blacks of the south are not only regardless of the rights of property, but their voting in its service—the public servants in the effort now making to Africanize the official and if there ture of the government, and if there ture of the government in the President a common informer against other public agents, he should be so limited as to make ture of the government, and if there ture of the government, and if there the President a common informer against other public agents, he evold as satisfactory by the people to protect themselves without the official aid of their elected defenders; if for instance, the legislative defenders and i

cise of the elective franchise is the highest attribute of an American citizen, and that when guided by virtue, intelligence, patriotism and a proper appreciation of our free institutions, it constitutes the true basis of a democratic form of government, in which the sovereign power is lodged in the sovereign power is lodged in the whole body of the people—a trust artificially created, not for its own sake, but solely as a means of promoting the general welfare.

Its influence for good must necessarily depend upon the character and tone of the elector. It ought, therefore, to be reposed in none except those who are fitted morally seemed to be within the class last the people—a trust artificially created, not for its own sake, but solely as a means of promoting the general welfare.

Its influence for good must necessarily depend upon the character and tone of the elector. It ought, therefore, to be reposed in none except those who are fitted morally in the property of the sole of the south. Insurance of the elector, it ought, therefore, to be reposed in none except those who are fitted morally in the property of the sole of the south. Insurance of the elector is one of the elector in the property of the sole of the south. Insurance of the elector is one of the elector in the supremency of negro government in the supremency of negro governmen

not taken in vain, and that my confidence in their wisdom and virtue seems not to have been misplaced.

ENORMOUS FRAUDS ON THE TREASURY.

It is well and publicly known that enormous frauds have been perpetrated on the treasury, and that colossal fortunes have been made at public expence. This species of corruption has increased, is increasing, and, if not diminished, will soon bring us into total ruin and disgrace. Public creditors and tax payers are alike interested in an honest administration of finances, and sents the collective majesty and speaks the will of the people.

Forced retention in office of a single dishonest person may work great injury to the public interests. Danger to the public service comes not from power to appoint; therefore it was that the framers of the Constitution left the power of removal unrestricted, while they gave the Senate the right to reject all appointments which, in its opinion, were not fit to be made. A little relative to \$137,500,000, and from 1861 to 1867 inclusive to \$137,500,000, and from 1861. honest administration of finances, and flection on the subject will probably to 1867 inclusive to \$457,500,000, macountry at heart that our best course is since 1849 of \$1,174,000,000.

furnished with the means of taking in its service—the public servants in the evidence, and bound to decide according to an established rule. This would guarrantee the safety of the accuser, when he acts in good faith, and at the same time secure the rights of other parties.

in its service—the public servants in the various departments of the government—the farmer who supplies the soldiers of the army and the sailors of the navy—the artizan who toils in the nation's workshops, and the mechanicand laborers who build its edifices and PUBLIC OFFICES ARE NOT THE PROPERTY OF construct its forts and vessels of war-

that rule of general suffrage which distinguishes our policy as a nation. But there is a limit wisely observed hithere is a limit wisely observed hithere and a trust, and which requires of some classes a time suntable for probation and preparation. To give it indiscriminated and the process of the fettered by arbitrary power which was designed to him of seeing laws faith of seeing laws faith makes faith assigned to him of seeing laws faith fully executed, and that it disables him most especially from enforcing that rigid accountability which is necessary to the due execution of the revenue laws.

That rich country, the richest in natival resources that the world eversaw, is worse than lost if it be not soon placed under the protection of a free constitution; instead of being, as it ought to be, a source of wealth and preparation. To give it indiscriminated and intrusting fact makes it the obvisional devices are selected and fifty millions.

This striking fact makes it the obvisional devices are suit to ought to be government, as early as may be consistent with the principles of sound political economy, to take in the source of the due execution of the revenue laws.

The constitution invests the President round and that it disables him most especially from enforcing that rigid accountability which is necessarity to the due execution of the revenue laws.

That rich country, the richest in natival resources that the world eversaw, is worse than lost if it be not soon placed under the protection of a free constitution; instead of being, as it ought to be, a source of which was defully executed, and that it disables him most especially from enforcing that rigid accountability which is necessarity to a sum placed under the protection of a free constitution invests the President round in the principles of the due to the output of the government, as early as may be consistent with the principles of the nation and the obstitution invests the President round rou